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# The



# People.

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## TRAGIC PAGES.

### Closing Chapter of the Mine-Workers' Drama.

Exploited by Big and Small Capitalists, Deceived by their Labor Leaders, Left in the Lurch by a Hired Parson's Class, the Mine Workers Have About Reached a Degree of Degradation from Which Nothing but the Revolutionary Inspiration of Socialism can Raise them—Telltale Dialogue with an Unsuspecting Operator.

When the Socialist workingman asserts that the capitalist class is the meanest class that ever ruled a nation he has abundant evidence at hand to prove his case. The Lord of the Manor under feudalism put himself at the head of his men, took his life and his sword in his hand and marched erect to fight in bloody conquest for his lands. The capitalist however never fights, he buys his fighting men. Not on the field of honor but in the marts of chicanery has he come by his possessions. Our eminent sausage dealers and distinguished soap makers have come into their wealth by all kinds of cheating, lying, fraud, deceit and legal subterfuges.

It must be an interesting study, therefore, to find out what particular set of our ruling best holds the mirror up to nature. Which wing of our ruling class is a composite picture of them all. Without a doubt, it is the Pennsylvania coal mine operator, whether he be of the cockroach or full developed type, the minnow or the shark.

If a doubting Thomas should read the above, let him scan the following tale.

While walking over a mountain road in the soft coal district of Pennsylvania, last summer, I met one of the cockroach type of coal operators. He took me for a Drummie; that I was a Socialist organizer never entered into his philosophy. I took him for a fraud from general appearance and on general principles and found later that I was correct. After the usual greetings had been exchanged, the following conversation took place.

Q—"How is the coal-mining business at present?"

Operator—"Oh, can't complain, poor prices for coal, but I am making out all right."

Q—"What do you get per ton?"

Operator—"55 cents at the tipple." (The tipple is that portion of the mouth of the mine from which the coal is dumped into the railroad cars.)

Q—"How much do you pay your men?"

Operator—"45 cents, run of mine."

Q—"And your other expenses are?"

Operator—"Royalty, 7 1/2 cents per ton; mules and their stabling, mule drivers' wages, cars, power, wear and tear, etc., bring each ton of coal up to 63 cents."

Q—"63 cents! Why, man alive, you have just told me that you only receive 55 cents per ton. Do you mean to tell me you are in business for your health? How can you afford to lose 8 cents on each ton you mine?"

Operator—"Very easy to explain, my young friend, very easy. You see, I have a company store; 60 men work in my mine; every last mother's son of them has to deal in my store; I charge all the way from 25 to 35 per cent, and sometimes 50 per cent, over the store-keeper's prices in the city. It is the store that makes the money, not the mine."

Q—"Suppose the men go to the village so as to buy things cheaper, what then?"

Operator—"What then? Why, I fire them, of course. What do you take me for? If they don't deal in my store, they don't work in my mine."

Q—"Suppose you fire them, what then?"

Operator—"Does them no good. All mines look alike to them, in this locality. All have stores. They've got to work in our mines, buy in our stores, live in our houses or starve. As they are mostly married, they work for us. They have simply got to."

Q—"Is there not a law on the statute books of Pennsylvania prohibiting these stores?"

Operator—"Yes; but what the h—ll is it amount to? They don't enforce it, and that settles it."

Q—"How much cash do your men get each month after the store bill is paid?"

Operator—"Here the operator stopped, put his hands on his fat sides and laughed so heartily that I thought he would burst a blood vessel; then he said: 'How much cash, did you say? Why, no cash, or hardly any; you see, it's this: say a man makes \$30 in a month. His bill in the store is \$24. This settles him to \$6. Does he get it? No and no. This is what we do: we give him a coupon on the store for \$5. Then we give him a one-dollar bill to go and blow himself. One dollar cash out of thirty, why, that's all right ain't it?—Here our thrifty capitalist went off into another fit of laughter at the queer way in which the slaves of his mine were robbed."

Q—"I again resumed my questioning: 'You say the law is not enforced?'"

Operator—"No, nary an enforce."

Q—"Does the church interfere?"

Operator—"No." (This with much

and for my ignorance.) "They mind

their own business, stand in with us, or they get no salary."

Q—"Does the Union kick?"

Operator—"No. The fellows that officer the Union are all right. Some of us run the CHECK-OFF for them, that is, we collect the dues for them. Then, again, when their Union is in trouble, we loan them money." (If any of our readers doubts this last statement I will, upon request, supply names and amounts loaned by operators to the United Mine Workers' officers.)

Q—"Then, again, the Union is backing De Armit, they leave us alone; in fact, they are on our side."

Having pumped the loquacious operator dry, I parted with him, confident of the fact that our ruling class is the meanest that ever ruled in the world's history, and furthermore, that the coal-mining portion of them for colossal meanness is the worst that ever occurred.

The above dialogue must suggest some very interesting questions. For instance, the coal is mined, placed in the railroad cars at a net cost of 63 cents per ton. In the mixed ale flats in South Brooklyn the hod-carrier's wife buys her coal by the pail. The pail weighs 20 pounds. The price is 10 cents, or 1/2 cent a pound, or \$11.20 per ton of 2,240 pounds.

QUERY I.—Who gets the difference?

QUERY II.—If Mother Nature supplies the coal free, if the miner mines it for about 20 cents per ton (for with the pluck-me-store robbery, that is what it amounts to), how comes it that the famished proletarians of New York pay \$11.20 per ton, i. e., 56 times the original cost? As it can't be transportation, can it be the "wages of abstinence?"

Mr. Dolan says: "You must have capital to fight capital with," hence QUERY III.—Where in Hades does the proletarian's capital come in starting with the pluck-me-store basis?

Another interesting point comes up towards the end of the dialogue: "The Union is backing De Armit, they leave us alone; in fact, they are on our side," says Mr. Operator.

Why the Union should fight De Armit to the exclusion of the other operators is the big interrogation point that sticks out all over the Penna coal mining situation.

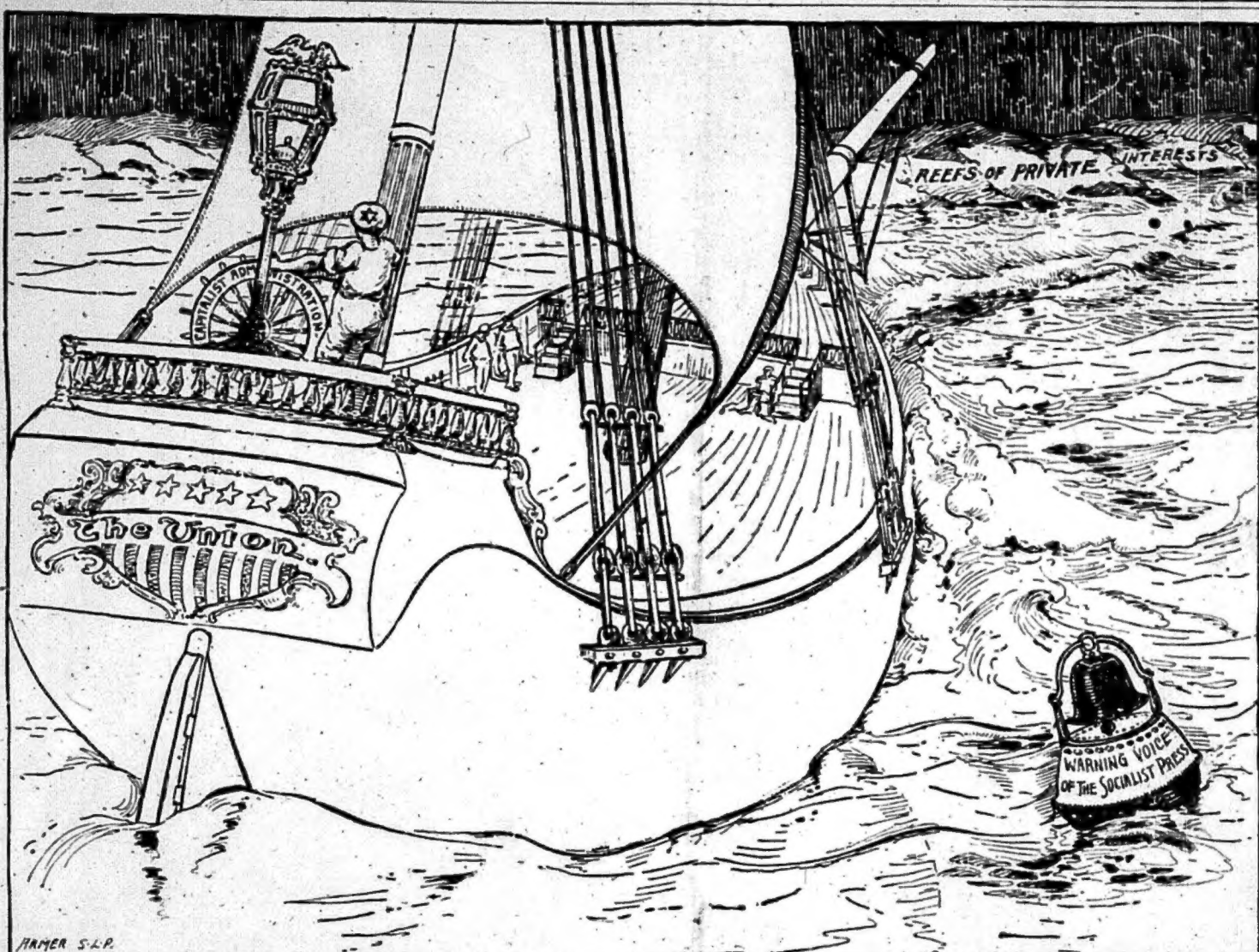
Does De Armit rob his men in the company store worse than the operators? No. On the contrary, he is one of the very few operators who HAS NO STORE.

Then he charges rack rents for his houses. No. HE HAS NO HOUSES. Then he has unfair screens. No. He has the FAIREST SCREENS IN THE DISTRICT.

What is there against him then? HE PAYS HIS MEN 10 CENTS PER TON LESS THAN THE OTHERS DO. But this is more than made up by the fact that he pays CASH. The other miners only receive more nominally, the pluck-me-store and the company house taking more than the difference. As a matter of fact, the soft coal miner would sooner work for De Armit than any other man in the district. Then, why should the Union center the fight on him. There are several reasons.

1st.—True to their pure and simple middle-class tendencies, they help the little parasitical capitalist, believing that there is a bond of friendship between them; not knowing that just because of his position he is the most relentless exploiter.

2nd.—Just as De Armit despises the



"THOU, TOO, SAIL ON A SHIP OF STATE, SAIL ON A UNION, STRONG AND GREAT—HUMANITY . . . IS HANGING BREATHLESS ON THY FATE."

## ADAMS, MASS.

### Enters the Municipal Field and Issues Its Proclamation.

The Socialist Labor party of Adams, conforming to the demands of the national organization and harmonizing with the emancipation movement of the world, whereby finally, through political and legal means, the present state of overproduction, industrial cannibalism and social disorder is to be substituted by the Co-operative Commonwealth, and all means of production and distribution shall be owned collectively and operated scientifically by the people, presents the following declarations for the municipal campaign of 1899:

1. The town shall establish a coal and wood yard, which shall supply the people with fuel at cost price.

2. We demand the establishment of a town pharmacy where pure medicine can be had at minimum cost, or free when necessary.

3. Prohibition of female labor under conditions detrimental to health or morality.

4. Since we deem those who suffer in the field of productive labor just as worthy of regard as those who suffer on the field of battle, we demand that a special fund be established for the payment of pensions to sick, aged and disabled workmen.

5. The free use of public halls and public buildings for free public discussion without discrimination.

6. The benefits of the public school system to be made accessible to all by supplying, where necessary, free clothing and meals to pupils, without inflicting the stigma of pauperism.

7. The town to own its own electric and gas plants.

8. The abolition of contract labor, all town work to be given directly by the town without the intervention of contractors or middle men, the workmen to elect their own superior officers; that eight hours shall constitute a legal work day; that all work done for the town be paid for at full or union wages, in no case less than \$2 a day, and that all materials used be bought from firms employing union labor.

These are our immediate demands, to them we pledge our support. And we call on the voters of Adams to aid in carrying them into effect.

The Socialist Labor party never compromises truth to make a friend, never withholds a blow at error lest it make an enemy. In firm assurance of final victory, it pursues its course unswayed by desire for temporary advantage. It is ever outspoken and straightforward, believing that in fearless independence the integrity of purpose by which it is inspired, will, in the end, win the respect and confidence of those whom it aims to weld into a class-conscious, aggressive body. Its propaganda is not alone to educate; it is to organize the working class for the conquest of power, for the complete overthrow of capitalism. Until that mission is accomplished, it will stand firm as a rock, yet alert and watchful, yielding nothing.

S. Berlin lectures this evening on "The Competitive System" at the headquarters of the 34th and 35th Assembly District, 149th street and Third avenue, this city.

## STATE SOCIALISM.

### Democratic Socialism the Aim of the Socialist Movement.

The economic activity of the modern State is the natural starting point of that development that leads up to the Socialist or Co-operative Commonwealth.

It does not, however, follow, that every nationalization of an economic function or of an industry is a step towards the Socialist Commonwealth, and that the latter could be the result of a general nationalization of all industries without having to change the character of the State.

The theory that this could be the case is that of the STATE SOCIALISTS. It arises from a misunderstanding of the State itself. The same as all previous systems of Government, the modern State is pre-eminently an instrument intended to guard the interests of the ruling class. This feature is in no wise changed by its assumption of functions of general utility, and effecting the interests, not of the ruling class alone, but of the whole body politic. The modern State will assume these functions quite often, simply because otherwise the interests of the ruling class would be endangered, but under no circumstances has it assumed, or could it ever, assume these functions in such manner as to endanger the overlordship of the capitalist class. Of this fact a remarkable illustration has been recently furnished by the official declarations of the People's party—a party called into being by the property holding class of small Western farmers, whom large capitalist production is submerging. The platform adopted at Omaha is very explicit on all the points that concern the economic interests of that class; the only demands, that are not self-evidently and inherently reactionary, are those that call for the national ownership of the means of communication and transportation; but, that these demands are made in the interest, not of the working class, appears from two facts: first, the conspicuous absence from the platform itself of all provision to improve the condition of the workers in those industries—such as higher earnings and shorter hours; and, second, the insertion of some recommendations looking in that direction, together with many other trivial ones. AFTER the platform and UNDER the following very significant introductory clause: "Whereas other questions have been presented for our consideration, we hereby submit the following NOT as a part of the platform of the People's party." And, furthermore, still more recently, a Boston Nationalist Club, consisting mainly of middle class people, issues a petition, likewise for the national ownership of the means of communication, transportation, etc., but wholly omits all provisions looking to the improvement of the conditions of the workers therein. In the one case as in the other, the capitalist functions which the State is asked to assume, are instinctively, if not purposely, asked to be assumed in a manner that would not endanger the overlordship of the capitalist class.

When the modern State nationalizes certain industries it does not do so for the purpose of restricting capitalist exploitation, but for the sole purpose of protecting the capitalist system and establishing it upon a firmer basis; or for the purpose of itself taking a hand in the exploitation of labor, increasing

its own revenues, and thereby reducing the contributions for its own support which it would otherwise have to impose upon the capitalist class. As an exploiter of labor the State is superior to any private capitalist; besides the economic power of the capitalist, which it would thereby acquire, it could also bring to bear upon the exploited classes the political power which it already wields.

The State has never carried on the idea of nationalizing the industries further than that. So long as the property-holding classes are also the ruling ones, the nationalization of industries and capitalist functions will never be carried so far as to injure the capitalist and landlords, or to restrict their opportunities for exploiting the proletariat.

THE STATE WILL NOT CEASE TO BE A CAPITALIST INSTITUTION UNTIL THE PROLETARIAT, THE WORKING CLASS, HAS BECOME THE RULING CLASS; NOT UNTIL THEN WILL IT BE POSSIBLE TO TURN IT INTO A SOCIALIST COMMONWEALTH.

From the recognition of this fact is born the task which the Socialist Labor parties of all countries have set to themselves to wit: TO CALL UPON THE PROLETARIAT, THE WORKING CLASS OF ALL LANDS, TO CONQUER THE POLITICAL POWER, TO END THAT WITH ITS AID, THEY MAY CONVERT THE NATION INTO A CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH, POSSESSED OF ALL THE MEANS REQUISITE FOR ITS SUSTENANCE.

Socialists are frequently twitted with not having any fixed aims; that they understand only to criticize; and that they know not what to put in the place of that which they would overthrow. Nevertheless, the fact remains that none of the existing parties in the United States, or in any other country, in which the Socialists have taken the field, has so well marked and clear an aim as the Socialist Labor party. It may indeed be questioned whether any other political party has any aim at all. They all hold to the existing order; their platforms contain nothing but plasters and salves with which they promise and hope to make the impossible possible, and the unbearable bearable.

The Socialist Labor party on the contrary does not build upon hopes and promises, but upon the unalterable dictates of the economic development. Whoever understands this development must accept the aims of the party. Whoever declares these aims to be false should show in what respect the teachings of Socialist political economy are false; he should show that the theory of the development from small to large production is false; that production is carried on to-day in the United States the same as it was carried on a hundred years ago; he must show that things are to-day as they have always been.

All other political parties live only in the present, and from hand to mouth; the Socialist Labor party is the only one that has a tangible aim before it, and which steers its present course by the light of that great aim. All other parties neither will nor can realize this aim; only by marching over their prostrate bodies can the Socialist Labor party reach the desired end. Because they neither can nor will see, because they stubbornly persist in wool-gathering and star-gazing, they declare off-hand that Socialists know not what they want except to destroy what ever is.

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## A HIND LOOK.

### Socialist Forecast Compared with Subsequent Events.

The Condition of the Workmen who Left Holyoke for the War—What they Say now—The Words of Warning Uttered in May of Last Year by Comrade Rutherford, Who, Since then, has become Alderman, and Now Finds Himself by Strange Providential Dispensation on the Aldermanic Committee to Aid these Unfortunates.

HOLYOKE, MASS., Feb. 1.—When our soldiers went to the front they were told pertinent truths by Comrade Rutherford. At the time, he was severely criticised by our patriots. Now Holyoke is swarming with soldiers of the war who are out of work. While the embalmers of meat, the sellers of guns and ammunitions, and the rest of our capitalists who ran and profited by the war are warm in these cold winter days, these deluded soldiers, who took the capitalist pretences of glory seriously, are now shivering with want; and, as an irony of fate, or perhaps, a providential dispensation to help drive the lesson home to our workers, our then maligned comrade, who now is in the Board of Aldermen, is on the COMMITTEE FOR MILITARY AID, to help these poor fellows out.

Some eight of these have already landed in the Committee's hands for relief. One of these victims portrays the whole situation well when he said:

"Well, I have just about given up trying to get a job," said he in a tone that indicated his feelings if his words don't express them. "Some people have got an idea that we fellows went down there in Cuba just for the fun there was in it. The sooner they relieve themselves of that impression the better. I for one didn't go for the fun of it or for curiosity's sake. I went because I felt it was my duty to go. I went because I was called."

"If we didn't do such a lot of fighting we were there ready to fight just the same and we suffered more in two months than the average person suffers in a life time. When we went there were about six or eight of us who had not been working for some time. Not that we were unwilling to work; but it so happened that the mills were closed and we were running short and didn't need us."

"While we were gone business picked up and the jobs which we could have had back and we were there were filled by new men. Now we are home again and it is simply impossible to get a job. Some people have got an idea that we can get work any time we want it. Well, I have been trying every day for several weeks to get a job but with no use. The places are all filled."

"This young man is a bright lad and worthy of consideration. He is one of the members of Company who is without work but who is ready to be up and going if a place is only opened to them."

At this season, it is well to look back and recall the words of Comrade Rutherford to the Holyoke workmen, for which he was blamed by the patriots and labor fakirs and laughed at by these same workmen, it will be well to contrast his language, which was everywhere held by Socialists, with the language then held and the attitude then struck by the labor misleaders of all stripes. On May 1 of last year, our unthinking people being just then intoxicated with Dewey's victory, the danger of which they now begin to realize, Comrade Rutherford addressed the people of Holyoke with the following open letter, published in the "Globe" of that city:

Gentlemen:—I am in receipt of a gilded printed invitation card inviting me to attend the Labor Union meeting at City Hall, next Sunday afternoon, at 2 o'clock. By special messenger I am invited to help decorate the stage at City Hall, as a background for the speakers. I am invited to give words providing the star orators, Lloyd of Boston, Pierce of Worcester, and Gompers of New York, do not see fit to consume all the time there is left of the day. I am restricted to speak on the labor question, only, and not to mention Socialism. It is needless for me to say that I should certainly consider it an honor to be present at a similar meeting at Lawrence on that day. Still, I should hate to miss my way at City Hall, here providing I were permitted to do so.

I therefore take advantage of the "Globe" to say in an open letter what I would say at City Hall were there meeting. The workmen, able-bodied of the city are in special favor at this hour of the country's need and danger. They are always in favor when there is fighting to be done and sacrifices to be made, while at any other time they are fit subjects only to be skinned and exploited. It would be well for our able-bodied men and boys to take SERIOUSLY THE PROMISES OF THEIR MASTERS TO REINSTATE THEM AFTER THE WAR IS OVER, into their own places. The word of a capitalist is not to be taken seriously, and their promises are not binding upon them. They always look out for No. 1, and for the dollar. In 1861-'65, when our able-bodied workmen were fighting for their country for \$13 a month, they had to take their pay in depreciated money, while the capitalist had a special money of their own. They did not take the money as given, but as interest on the money they loaned the Government to carry on the war, but they insisted on getting gold for their part of patriotism and blood.

The capitalists are, they want you fellow-workmen to do the fighting and they stay at home to reap what profits there may come out of the war. They want you to come HOME CRIPPLED. THEY HAVE NO USE FOR YOU, and if you should be fortunate enough to come home able-bodied, you may find a new labor-displacing machine, doing your work and there is so no reminding your former master of his promise. He will tell you that was a war-measure and must be accepted as such. Patriotism is a noble word and means noble deeds, but the capitalist class of all nations are daily blaspheming the word and the deeds. Their patriotism is money, second money, mine, and lots of it, and it has come out of your hides, fellow-workmen. So I say to you fellow-workmen, by all means be patriotic, but don't forget that you are workmen and are wage

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**The Capitalist Editor of the Richmond "Times" Fears  
Publication of Matter that will Enlighten.**

the great problem of life. My stars, how that great host of idle parasites, our doctors, pulpites and professors, our Vanderbilts, Astors, and Goulds, our bogus Countesses Castellanes, De Chlmays, etc., would envy you: how they would struggle for a place beside you, so that they, like you, could solve the great problem of life by hard work.

wageworkers, on whom their masters—the capitalist class—have conferred the exceeding great honor of solving the problem of life, by hard work: I am sure, Mr. Editor, that if the problem of life is not to make life easier, the great God of Nature (whom you seem to understand so well) must have made a great mistake when he placed in man the brain, by the use of which he invented the tools whereby a living could be the more easily procured. According to your and the Doctor's theory, invention must have been the work of the evil one, who is always upsetting God's intentions. Why don't you and your gang advocate a crusade against the Devil's work? Let us smash up every machine and hand tool of production, burn and sink our ships, break up our locomotives and rolling stock, tear up our railroad tracks, destroy our splendid system of communication, turn all our tamed and domesticated animals loose, let them return to their wild state. Thus man, toolless, shelterless and naked, can betake himself to the forests and cave-life, then, with his finger nails as his only tool,

therewith to earn a living. Surely, then the problem of life would be completely solved by the hardest kind of work and the great God of Nature perfectly satisfied. That condition of life would not suit the Doctor and the class he represents very well, because they in that condition would become wealth producers through the dire necessity of laboring for their own support.

with them, as no individual savage would care to exert himself unduly like the wage slaves do to-day, in order that strong, able-bodied men (who are as well qualified physically or mentally as they are) should rot in idleness, etc..

It is a fact of history that the savage man was physically the superior of the civilized man; therefore, I infer, that the Doctor had that in mind when he stated that "the problem of life is, not to make life easier, but to make men stronger, that no problem shall be beyond their solution." He must have meant that, he could not have meant stronger intellectually, because the growth of the intellect has produced the means which, if properly used, would upset his theory of hard work, viz. the modern gigantic machinery of production. Likewise must he be opposed to Socialism, which still further caters to the intellect of man, by pointing the way to the proper use of the fruits of his brain, the machine, i. e.

by showing that he must own and operate them collectively for the benefit of all.

By strength, the Doctor must have meant physical, because mentally strong people, especially among the workers, have a tendency towards resisting oppression, and are therefore troublesome. They have a nasty habit of arguing the point, of examining the medicine prescribed for them (by those quacks which abound everywhere), before swallowing it. Which attitude on the part of the masses would somehow disturb the minds of our intellectual fakirs, who have always an axe to grind. I expect, therefore, that the Doctor wished to say that physical strength was the "in plus ultra" for the masses, and you, Mr. Editor, echoed it as fate. Allah is good, and the Doctor is his prophet. Strong, brainless way slayers to do the work and bralny (save the mark) professors, editors and capitalists to live of their labor.

### PUBLIC CHARITIES.

Mr. Editor, I would not have been guilty of such an act of folly as that of wasting time on the professor's little childish prattle, which seems to please you as genuinely as my little girl's doll baby does her, and for the same rea-

sons (lack of more mature sense) I doubt not. I would have passed it over but for your comments on the Doctor's forceful, conclusive reply (as you term it) to the modern doctrine of Populism and Socialism. You take for your text a portion of the platform on which the Mayor of Haverhill, Mass., was elected as the representative of the Social Democrats of America, who, by the way, are only reformers. Masquerading under the name of Socialism (like very many do by Christianity), and of whom you and your capitalist cronies need not be unduly alarmed, as they don't propose to disturb you very much. They, like the Populists, will, unless they change their tactics, have a sort of Jonah's grieved life. So keep cool and hold your head up, you will need all your courage and coolness later, i. e., when the outposts of the Socialist Labor party (the revolutionary army) begin shelling your lines. In your comments on the efforts of those reformers to ameliorate the miserable condition of the working class, you, while condemning their attitude, want people to understand that you are not opposed to public charities. I guess not; it looks well, you know, to have your name figuring as an active member of a city mission for the relief of "the deserving poor." But

did you ever stop to think why we have poor people. I expect you will throw the good book at my head now. Well, let it come, it won't hurt, because it don't prove the case. We have poor because the means of life, the land and tools to operate it, are in the hands of a few private individuals, who can by that means, by the power it gives them, regulate the lives and fortunes of the great unwashed, as Carlyle termed the French peasantry. The masses who build our palaces, weave our silks, produce our food, and are themselves to a great extent homeless, naked, and hungry. Did you ever

**"MANHOOD-DESTROYING SOCIALISM."**

Mr. Editor, I have been told that if you give the devil rope enough he will hang himself. And that a fool never opens his mouth to say anything but he puts his foot into it. You seem to be awfully afraid that the paternalism of Socialism—as you are pleased to term it—would destroy manhood. Ye Gods! I ask you, how much manhood dwells in the breast of him who has to depend upon the whim of another fellow earthworm for the privilege to earn a crust, and especially if he has a family depending upon his labor for their support. How much manhood had those poor fellows who, in the campaign of 1896, were notified by the Hannans and others of that gang that they would shut down their works until after the election, and that should McKinley be elected work would be resumed day after as usual. But, if not, they would shut down indefinitely. Do you ask how they voted? Manhood! True Manhood! Why, it will soon be

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defined what they are pleased to call "religion," tell the women that a plurality of wives is just. Should the women but sug-

the factory owing to the introduction of improved machinery and the competition of women and children. Go to the museum and see the handpress of 100 years ago, and then go to Herald Square and see the press

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## REJECTED LETTER.

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extinct among the wage slaves if this capitalist system holds out very much longer.

Manhood! Where was the manhood of the Roman people when the Hunns and Vandals under Attila and Genseric overran and subjugated that once proud race? Why could those people (who had held those savages in supreme contempt) no longer repulse those hordes? Why? Because their strength mental, physical and financial had been sapped and destroyed by their own rulers, the Patricians, who wasted the energies of themselves and the plebeians, in the riotous and voluptuous life of the Metropolis, and when Rome fell, 1,500 people owned the known world, and the rest of her teeming millions were in a state of the most abject slavery to those few. What cares the slave for the country which enslaves him, even though it may be the place of his nativity? All the nobility of his nature having been ground out of him by rent, profit and interest, what is left of him, but the brute, who, when inflamed by hunger, would perhaps more readily read his master than his master's enemy. Have we not, also, got near the perilous point, when our statisticians tell us that wages are falling, the army of the unemployed is swelling rapidly, thanks to machinery, concentration of capital and their agencies, and where about 2 per cent. of the families in the United States virtually own all the wealth, and by reason thereof about 98 per cent. are disinherited and are only living here subject to the approval of the 2 per cent. who own everything, even to the lives of the 98 per cent?

Manhood! What bitter irony for you to ask that crawling wage slave to assert it under your system, when he knows that if he does so in the workshop or the factory, as an individual, he will starve.

No, Socialists have a hard row to hoe in order that they may rekindle in the breasts of the wage slaves the spirit of 1776, and thus enable them to rise in their might and wipe this present system out of existence at the ballot box before the capitalist class shall have by the scourge of hunger, instigated a reign of terror and bloodshed.

Mr. Editor, you ought not to be alarmed at the paternalism of Socialism, as you term it. We have to-day a beautiful example of a paternal Government for a class, a Government of, for and by the capitalist class—the workers doing the needful at the ballot box of course.

Who issues the bonds to national bankers to make money by, to build railroads with for the Stanfords et al, and are even now considering the Nicaragua Canal scheme, another Panama green goods game, to fill the pockets of a few more hungry capitalists? What about our "war for humanity," you know, which is now clear to all and has been boldly acknowledged by the capitalists themselves, as being a means to advance their interests by creating an outlet for the sale of unpaid labor? But to come nearer home, what about the gold mine our own State Legislature opened up for that combination called the Roanoke Land Grabbers' Syndicate, whose piratical exploits you have endorsed time and again under the plea that the State must collect its revenues? Could not the State have the delinquent taxes and the penalty also, if need be, why did it assist those people in getting something for nothing? Because it was acting up to the principles upon which it was founded, i. e., to assist the capitalist class in their questionable pickings. Not only feeding them upon Government pie alone, but great chunks of cake and pie also.

But why enumerate? The fact is plain to every person—except a fool or an ignoramus—that all Governments, whether Monarchical or Republic, Despot or Democratic, have always been and are now constructed for and used in the interests of the ruling class, be they blue-blooded aristocrats, or proud capitalists. In yon odious times, kings would pour out the life's blood of their people as freely as water in their attempt to wipe out a real or fancied insult to their royal dignity (3), while a few hundred peasants' lives lost in a quarrel with the peasantry of the king's enemy would have been passed over content. To-day a Spaniard might knife an American sailor in a Spanish or an American port, and beyond meeting out or demanding justice there would not be a ripple on the surface of the diplomatic sea. But should our capitalists demand an inroad on Spanish or any other nation's territory for business, you know, why, the entire army and navy, with the wealth of the nation thrown in, even to the last per centum of finance or flesh would be at their service. You cry out, No Paternalism! Why, man, you and your class which you stand for could not live a minute without paternalism; it is your life's blood; you need it to foster your interests; yes, and you need it for weightier reasons: shall I whisper it? You need it to shake in the faces of your wage slaves, to overawe and hold them down.

Yes, we have a paternal Government for the classes, a kind and loving father who carefully guards and promotes the interests of his children—the capitalist class. But in his dealings with the common herd—the masses—(as they are contemptuously designated by their masters), to them the Government is a tyrannical despot. Knowing neither love nor mercy. We have seen our Federal and State Government—at the request of its favorite child, the capitalist—murder defenceless men, women and children at Buffalo, Brooklyn, Coeur d'Alene, Louisville, Hazelton, and other places. Yes, Mr. Editor, our Government is a good, kind, indulgent parent to the capitalist class, who rob their dad and the workers to boot, in order that they may spend their ill-gotten gains or harlots à la Seelye dinners, et al.

But to the workers (who create all its wealth and fight all its battles) the capitalist State always appears clothed in the garb of cold authority, its hand grasping the blood-stained sword of the tyrant, and above all the black, scowling visage of the cruel despot. The above is a true picture of all our modern Governments, no matter what their title may be, and to overthrow which the labor and ever increasing army of Socialism is marching steadily on.

## WHO SHOULD OWN THE WEALTH.

You further state that, "Given a Government which simply undertakes to protect its citizens in their personal property and rights, in their life and liberty, preventing one citizen from trespassing upon the rights of another, and giving each citizen the same opportunities with every other citizen to earn a living and accumulate property, but giving assistance to no one, discriminating neither for nor against any particular class of citizens, you will find under such a Government a vigorous, active, independent, manly citizenship."—Sure, Mike, but where is that Government to-day? Aye, where? Not in the domain of the United States, nor elsewhere.

It is an axiom that no one has any right to wealth or property unless he himself creates it, and as the workers create all the wealth it is therefore rightfully their personal property, and according to your argument the Government ought to use all its powers in protecting them in those rights and preventing one citizen from trespassing upon the rights of another. If that be so, how comes it that those who create no wealth are allowed to own it, and those who do create it all are hungry, homeless and naked. In constructing your governmental machine you must have lost one of the principal screws somewhere, which has caused it to revolve backward.

Again, where is the Government to-day which gives equal opportunities to all. Not here, my child, not here, there can be no equal opportunities with the means to life left to a few private individuals to use as they see fit. Your assertion is some more of that old exploited lie, i. e., that thrift and economy is the sure road to success and every man-child may become President of the United States. "There may be struggle, but in struggle there is always development," you say. How learnedly those words sound! Of course there is development, a development of wealthy aristocrats on top, and a mass of gibbering starvelings underneath.

Now let us look at your other picture, with which you wish to scare the starving workers away from the bad Socialists; here it is: "Given a Government which undertakes parental care of its SUBJECTS, providing employment, food and raiment for them, you will find a nation of milkops." Great Scott! this thing is getting interesting. The Government provides employment, food and raiment. Oh, I see, the private capitalist provides these things for the workers; he digs and delves, he weaves and spins to provide food and raiment for the workers, ungrateful wretches those workers are. Oh, no! he only lets them use his tools, for which they pay him 75 per cent. of what they produce and keep the 25 per cent. to buy food and raiment, pay rent and doctors' bills with. Magnanimous capitalist, sure! And now, would you believe it, those blamed Socialists are trying to put into the hands of the workers that it would be of greater benefit to them if the Government provided them with the tools free of charge and allowed them un-restricted home, free medical attendance and all the food and raiment and everything else they could make. But, you see, that would destroy the incentive, you know, and make milkops out of them. According to your idea, Mr. Editor, a person to be manly, self-reliant and independent must, when he creates a dollar's worth of anything, be prepared to allow some greasy capitalist to step in and coolly appropriate to himself 75 cents' worth of it, and that should be who created it (the workman) demand what belonged to him, the dollar entire, why, then he was a silly milkop and a disgrace to American manhood.

Out upon such childish reasoning! Government-pap, indeed! Was there anything of the milkop in the composition of the American Indian, that proud man who was only subdued by treachery and the force of superior military equipment? Did his Government (the Sachems) feed and clothe or shelter him? No! they gave him free access to the tribal lands and told him he could have what he produced. Was there any pampered babyhood about the old Saxon tribes of Germany or England or the Celtic tribes of Scotland? When they faced the enemy on the field it was in the defence of hearth, home and Fatherland, truly and indeed, for the land belonged to their respective tribes. But what has their so-called civilized descendants (both at home and in the United States and everywhere else) to fight for, what has the proletariat of all lands to fight for? He has no home, no land, they are outcasts on the face of the earth, living on suffrage on other people's property, and who can and does dump them on the sidewalks of our great cities for the sake of a few paltry dollars of rent. First deprived of work by the privately owned machine, next refused credit at the grocery store, and lastly thrown on the street by the greedy, grasping front pew holding follower of the homeless Nazarene. And yet, if the Government (the people) should demand that all should be housed, clothed and fed as becomes a human being, why, that would breed a nation of unmanly milkops. However, we will certainly by the experiment in the next few years, and if you be around and following your present theory of self (along with others of the same kidney), you from your Kingdom in Darkest Africa, should be foolishly enough to invade the shores of our Commonwealth, led thither by the false hope that you would have a picnic with the milkops which co-operation bred, you would find to your everlasting confusion and hurt that from the pikinis and starvelings, left them by competition, co-operation had developed (and without a word struggle) a race of men, strong healthy and vigorous, who loved their land and was willing to die, if need be, in its defence.

Government pap in a true Democratic State! Why, sir, I am amused at you, in such a State to whom should it be given and by whom received? Who is the Government and who the people; pray, tell me, are they not one and indivisible? If the people are the Government and the Government the people, to whom could the people give if not to themselves, if, therefore, a person gives to himself what is his own, how can that be justly designated Paternalism, hoah!

I am afraid, sir, you have caught a whiff of the imperialist stench which is arising everywhere around, your statements to the contrary notwithstanding, therefore you are somewhat excusable in your use of the word SUBJECT in your comments. Besides, you have been too dying to old Mother England (and your kin across the waters, you know), in your editorials and elsewhere for such a long time now that probably you mistook the Richmond for the London "Times" when making your comments, and that accounts for your use of a word which ought to be an abomination to the eyes and a stench in the nostrils of a believer in the principles of true Democracy—SUBJECTS. I expect you are in training so as to do honor to that old gambling reprobate, the Prince of Wales, whom our worthy grand lodge of A. F. & A. M. have invited to visit George Washington's Lodge. What an honor is in store for our noble grand lodge, sure!!! If, as you say, competition was a law ordained by God; and if you believe that Christ was also God, you put Christ in a terrible fix. Because competition and the golden rule won't mix. I expect, however, that you and all your class are somewhat like the Chinaman, who have each a little Joss of his own whom he prays to. Truly the sage has said: God did not create man in his own image, but man has made God in his image. He, I. e., God therefore appears to them in the form of a great ruler, and as all earthly rulers have their price, so is their conception of God. Hence their efforts by prayer and contributions to change the will of Him in whom they state there is no variableness, neither shadow of turning.

Competition is hate, and ignorance, confusion, bloodshed, anarchy, darkness—HELL. Co-operation is wisdom and love, order, peace, brotherhood, sunlight—HEAVEN. Wisdom and love, the masculine and feminine joined together in Government, result peace and perfect harmony; separated, result convulsions, revolutions, murder, prostitution, intellectual and physical pestilence, vice and crimes without number. Yes, yes, you are afraid of the Socialist's heaven, as you term it, you are no doubt scared lest we serve you, as we are told God served the father of this system (which you so strongly endeavor to bolster up), you know he tried to run things up above and that he and his whole gang got dumped over the side, and such might be the fate of his children, the capitalist class and their lackeys. If (when we had fixed up things according to the will of the peoples they would forthwith become a little rowdy.

On a previous occasion I made you familiar with this fact, that the present system of society was dying and that it could not hold out much longer. That the causes of its disease and ultimate death were concentration of wealth, absorption of the surplus wealth of which it robbed the producers—the workers. That in a few years (comparative) the Socialists would see that it was put quietly and decently away, i. e., if it did not struggle too hard. Anyhow, they are determined to put it to sleep, because its mental and physical malady is developing dangerous symptoms. Therefore I will not now bore you by going into details as to the Whys and Wherefores, but will simply close this letter by informing you of the fact that we are going to establish the Socialist Commonwealth soon. And that if you are this side the Styx at that time, I would advise you to behave like a good boy, and we will pardon you for past offences. I am informed that you are somewhat over the age limit, when Socialists will retire from their labors and enjoy the evening of life in the enjoyment of luxurious ease, therefore if you be good we will fix you up a nice home and allow you to live the balance of your days, just like you do now, i. e., on the labor of your brothers.

Respectfully,

H. D. MACFARLANE.

Manchester, Va.

## TRACIC PACES.

(Continued from page 1.)

playume methods of the pluck-me-store, so does he despise the Dolan-Warner gang; and, consequently, refuses to be an ally of the fakirs by collecting dues on the check-off plan.

3rd.—De Armit has the largest coal and best contracts in the Pittsburgh District. The other operators use the Union as a means to fight De Armit.

I discuss this question for the purpose of showing what a rotten reed the miners have to lean on in their pure and simple Union, and to point out that it is not by fighting De Armit alone that any good can come to the miners but by fighting De Armit and his whole class, small and big exploiters, not alone on the economic field, where the miners are weak, but on the political field, where De Armit and his crowd are weak and where the miners are almighty strong.

With this article I bid the coal miners of Pennsylvania good-bye for a short time. I shall return to the subject later on with more facts for the benefit of the slaves of the pick and lamp in particular, and for the class-conscious workers of the nation in general.

These facts withal will be but in the nature of cumulative evidence of the rascality of the capitalist class and their allies, the pure and simple labor fakir, and of the utter hopelessness of the miner's striving to improve his condition by any of the methods he has pursued in the past.

His pure and simple Union can't assist him. The church can't and won't assist him. The laws framed by capitalists can't assist him. The class-conscious economic organization, backed by class-conscious political organization whereby to capture the political power by his class is the only thing that can give him positive assistance.

In the meantime strikes will occur. More labor-saving machinery will be introduced in the mines. More misery must continue to dog the miner's foot-steps.

It behooves us then to raise the banner of revolt on every hill and dale and valley of the Keystone State, despite church, capitalist and fakir opposition,

push the revolutionary propaganda of the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A. and hasten the day when the miners of Pennsylvania through their close class-conscious alliance of solidarity with their whole class the land over, will own the soil and the means to work it, and thus, becoming their own masters, hold what they produce, owe their living to none but themselves, and be free men in this now land of capitalist slavery.

T. A. HICKEY.

## A HIND LOOK.

(Continued from page 1.)

slaves, war or no war, and you should never forget for one moment that your interests as workmen are identical with the interests of the workers of the nation. Your conditions can only be remedied by uniting into one grand, class-conscious army of labor, whose object and mission will be and must be to abolish the robber system of capitalism and to establish in its place the Co-operative Commonwealth. Labor-displacing machinery is driving you out of your usual occupation, which you are taught about by the class-conscious exercise of your ballot, which is the mighty weapon that will emancipate you from wage slavery. Hoping I have not violated my instructions, I close my speech.

M. RUTHER.

If such hard and useful truths can not be taken to heart except by the confirmation of experience, then let, at least, the experience not need to be repeated.

## OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kahn, 184 William Street, N. Y.

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary Robert Handlow, 193 Champaign Street, Cleveland, O.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CAN.—A. J. National Executive Committee, Montreal, George Moore, 61 Hyde Street.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY—147 East 23rd Street, New York City. (The party's literary agency.)

NOTICE.—For technical reasons, no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

National Executive Committee.

Session of Jan. 31, with John J. Kinneally and the others absent: Wherry, Sauter and Brown, the latter excused.

The financial report for the week ending Jan. 28 showed: receipts, \$75.00; expenditures, \$34.43.

The Secretary reported that the first supplement to the Socialist Almanac was out to be sold at 5 cents retail. Sections should push the pamphlet, and in conjunction with it the first number of the "Socialist."

Nelson A. Pidgeon, of Northport, Long Island, was, upon application, admitted to membership at large.

The National Board of Appeals reported several decisions.

One on an appeal from Branch 2 of Section Cincinnati, against Branch 3 of the same Section for refusing to split up its members, the Board decided that it had no jurisdiction, as the question must first be determined by the Section before appeal can be brought before the Board.

On the matter of Wm. J. Elbert and others of Section Pittsburgh, Pa., appealing from the action of the Pennsylvania State Committee, which had awarded \$100 to Comrade Elbert, the Board decided that the State Committee, for services rendered. The Board decided that this matter does not come under its jurisdiction, inasmuch as the State convention of Pennsylvania, or the election of the State Committee, should first be appealed to and final appeal could then be carried to the National Board of Appeals.

A third in the matter of appeals of Melko Meyer and Peter Friesman, suspended by Section Detroit, Mich., for misconduct. After careful perusal of all papers submitted by Section Detroit, hearing upon the case, the Board unanimously came to the following conclusion: "That, in the opinion of the Board, the suspension of Melko Meyer and Peter Friesman, Jr. was not justified, though we recognize that Comrade Meyer's conduct at times lacked tact and discretion. The comrades have violated no principle of the party or its constitution, and we decide that they be reinstated as members of Section Detroit."

Comrade H. W. Lee, London, England, the Secretary of the S. D. F. of England, stated in a letter that, in August last, he had transmitted a translation and original of resolutions of Spanish comrades, adopted in answer to our resolutions of fraternal sympathy when hostilities broke out; that some time after this he received a letter from our party mentioning that no answer had been made by Spanish Socialists and expressing surprise thereat; that thereupon he sent another copy and received in answer to this he wrote again. As neither of these letters has been received here, both coming from one source and addressed to the same person, and both bearing upon the same subject matter, the case looks rather suspicious and suggests that our expansionist capitalist Government has expanded its case in the matter in Europe, and is "cabineting" style in order to prevent the publication in this country of these resolutions during the war.

The Secretary was instructed to procure another copy from London and to send a serious complaint to the Post Office, and demand an explanation.

Charters were granted to new Sections in Onray, Colorado and San Rafael, Cal.

L. A. MALKIEL, Sec. Secretary.

Massachusetts.

STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.—A communication has been received by the Secretary of the Massachusetts State Central Committee stating that it being understood that S. C. C. is in favor of the referendum sent out by them at the request of three Sections, the Committee, and the respondent is of the opinion that a statement ought to be made by the Committee in regard to the matter in the next issue of THE PEOPLE. The Committee has admitted the propositions because they were called upon by the three Sections mentioned in the last issue of THE PEOPLE to do so. The Committee was not called upon to express their opinion, but to act, and to do so at once, which they did, but while the matter was under discussion by the Committee it was the sentiment of the Committee that the coupon books covered the financial part of the question.

To put an organizer in the field will require at least \$100 per month, and it would require the sale of 250 of the coupon books, this would give the S. C. C. \$110 and the party \$20 and the sale of two books on the average by each Section; any person can contribute from one cent up to \$100. We are of the opinion that this is the best plan.

Town or City Committees have been formed in the following places: Adams, Clinton, Chicopee, Chelsea, Everett, Fitchburg, Holyoke, Lawrence, Lynn, Malden, Revere, Sumerville, Westfield, Worcester.

Several Sections have called for lists of organizers and speakers, but on account of many changes in the organization of the Sections the Committee have not yet put out a list, but will before long.

L. D. USHER, Secretary.

SOMERVILLE.—Section Somerville, S. L. P., held its regular meeting Jan. 24, and elected the following list of officers for the ensuing term: Organizer, Edw. N. K. Recording and Corresponding Secretary, J. W. H. Williams; Financial Secretary and Treasurer, Harry Kerner; Literary Agent, Jacob Loren; Grievance Committee, Geo. V. Tierney, Louis Hinkley, and Miss Louise Pacheco. It was voted that the above list of officers be published in THE PEOPLE.

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## 9th Assembly District, S. L. P.

Discussion meeting, Monday, Feb. 6, 1899, at 8 p. m., in Clark's Hall, 101 5th Ave. Subject: "Machinery and the Benefit it has conferred on the Workingmen." Referent, James Allman. After the meeting: Entertainment with Zither and Recitations. Comrades bring your family and friends. All are welcome. Admission free.

## Section Phila., S. L. P.

### Regular Meeting

Sunday, February 5th, 8 P. M.

### Labor Lyceum,

6th & Brown sts.

Election of Organizer and Campaign Committee. All members are urged to be present.

### Arbeiter-Kranken- und Sterbe-Kasse

für die Ver. Staaten von Amerika.

### WORKMEN'S

### Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and socialist thought. It is a national strength (the treasury composed of 155 local branches with more than 16,000 male members) is rapidly increasing among workmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workingmen between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to membership in any of the branches upon payment of a deposit of \$4.00 for the first class and \$3.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick benefit of \$9.00 for 40 weeks and of \$4.50 for another 40 weeks, whether continuous or with interruption. Members belonging to the second class receive under the same circumstances and length of time \$6.00 and \$3.00 respectively. A burial benefit of \$25.00 is guaranteed for every member, and the wives and unmarried daughters of members between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to the burial benefit upon payment of a deposit of \$1.00. Monthly dues are levied according to expended age. In cities and towns where no branch exists, a new branch can be formed by 25 workmen in good health, and men adhering to the above principles are invited to do so.

Address all communications to HENRY STAHL, Financial Secretary, 25-27 3d Avenue, Room 33, New York City.

Workmen's Children Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The address of the Financial Secretary of the Executive Committee is: REINHARD LACHNER, 13 Bible House, Room 42, Astor Place, N. Y. City, N. Y.

### DR. C. L. FURMAN,

DENTIST,

121 Schermerhorn St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

### WORKMEN'S

### Furniture Fire Insurance.

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BRANCHES: Yonkers, Troy, Binghamton, Gloversville, Elmira, Albany, Oneida, N. Y.

Peterboro, Newark, Elizabeth, South River, Passaic and Trenton, N. J.

Manchester, N. H.

Adams, Boston, Holyoke, Springfield, Mass.

New Haven, Waterbury, Meriden, Hartford, and Bridgeport, Conn.

Pittsford, Pittsburg, Allegheny, Luzerne, Altoona, Pa.

Chicago, Ill.

Cleveland, Ohio.

For addresses of the Branch-bookkeepers, see "Vorwärts."

## GRAND LABOR FESTIVAL

Wednesday, February 22, 1899,

(Washington's Birthday)

— in —

## Grand Central Palace

43. STR. & LEXINGTON AVENUE.

arranged by the „Volkszeitungs-Conference" for the

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Jugglers, Acrobats and Sworddancer,

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Five hundred Singers from the Arbeiter

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„Workingmen of all countries unite",

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Tickets only 15 Cents a Person.

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Tickets for sale in the Office of THE PEOPLE, 184 William Str., in the

Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4. Str., in Clubhouse, 206 East 86. Str., and in every

Headquarter of the Socialist Labor Party.

## Trades and Societies' Calendar

Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding lines) will be inserted under this heading at the rate of \$5.00 per annum. Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their place of meetings.

### GENERAL OFFICE, SOCIALIST TRADERS

and LABOR ALLIANCE, 25 Broadway, Room 100, New York City.

Financial Secretary: William L. Brower.

Executive Board Meetings: 1st, 3d and 5th Thursday evenings at 8 p. m., 5th Street, of Appeals: Max Keller, 10 Hope Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

### SECTION ESSEX COUNTY, S. L. P.

County Committee representing the town meets every Sunday, 10 a. m., in the hall of Essex County Socialist Club, 75 Springfield Avenue, Newark, N. J.

21st WARD, BRANCH 2, S. L. P., 17th Ave. Lectures on political, economic and social questions at the Club House, Myrtle Avenue, every Sunday evening. Regular meetings every first and third Monday.

CARL SAHM CLUB (MUSICAL UNION). Meetings every Tuesday,